/425 cont./

*511 reach it, by ignoring the tradition that one should have new
291 clothing for the celebration of Tabaski. Some expenses seem
[292] slightly exaggerated. The head of family No. 11, who dresses
[796] very modestly himself, each year presents a sumptuous new gown to his wife, who moreover demands it, although she can rarely wear it. The 8,000 francs for No. 1, on the contrary, are justified by the size of his restricted family: seven persons.

Nevertheless it is surely possible to reduce these expenses.
[183] But opinion requires that one have new clothing to show at times, and it is difficult to pass unnoticed in an African city of average size.

*511 After this threshold of 15,000 francs of monthly income, we encounter figures for impressive expenses. No. 27 devotes as much as 48,000 francs to his clothing. No. 30, 65,000 francs, the same as No. 36. From No. 34 on, all exceed 40,000 francs per year. For some, that may be justified by the size of the family; No. 36 has 15 persons under his care, for whom practically all of this is necessary. The restricted family alone of No. 40 contains 15 persons; that of No. 42, 11. For the others we could only verify the facts, leaving to the psychologists and sociologists the task of explaining them; No. 34 earns 25,000 francs per month and devotes 65,000 francs to the clothing of four persons, 22.5% of his income. This budget nevertheless has a surplus, but only of 3.7%, in the midst of a series where they are much greater. We now have the explanation for it.

/426/ We have grouped under the rubric "Equipment" (Table XIV) dissimilar elements which have the common character of being of some utility and, if not purchased once and for all, at least not needing to be renewed for a rather long period, for example, furniture, kitchen equipment, bedding, etc. ... The sums that are devoted to them are generally of little importance. The purchase of a Madagascar stove or of some glasses, however, is a heavy burden on an income below
[452] 10,000 francs. These things are generally not purchased on credit.

[352] The piece of furniture that we found most often in our

17: Mercier--30 S-5 (1953-1954) 1954 MS37 Senegal MS37
Dakar

/27 cont./
daughters who are pursuing their studies figure much more frequently. While among the laborers, the workers, and to a lesser degree the master workmen, it is above all a matter of relatives -- in the majority close relatives, cousins, nephews -- who are unemployed or without an occupation. We shall thus again find the same grouping of categories, although here the differences are more blurred than in the other domains considered. 369* 565 602

D. -- For numerical data on the dimensions of the restricted family, thus on the extension of polygamy, we refer to the account by L. Massé in the present collection. We shall only add certain comments based on complementary studies.

/28/ 1. Religious affiliation divides our population into two groups, one Christian, almost exclusively monogamous (1), 369* 595 565 [771]

1. There are cases of polygamy, but they are rarely admitted.

the other Moslem, where the tendency toward polygamy is very deep-rooted, but where differences make themselves felt according to the socio-occupational category. It is only on the level of the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc., that this distinction based on religion disappears, and that we ascertain, common to Christians and Moslems, a value set on monogamy.

2. It is in fact on the level of values more than on that of de facto situations that this question must be studied. The progression of the number of polygamous men in going from the laborers to the master workmen, passing through the workers, and, in a different sector, going from the subordinate functionaries and employees to the superior functionaries and employees, is found again in going from the petty to the large-scale merchants. Polygamy may be, by the same token, an ideal for all the members of these categories, but it is only realized on occasion (2) starting from a certain material [183 ●

2. It is obviously limited by the

/28 cont./

demographic structure of the population (number of available women).

369*
595
565
[183]

position (3).

3. Let us recall the problems raised by the "marriage portion" and the accessory expenses of marriage. The reactions of the young people and certain Moslem elements in favor of a "matrimonial pact" have to some extent stabilized the situation.

3. The numerical data on the de facto situation seem to lead to a grouping of our categories different from that shown in the preceding paragraphs. But let us consider the first results of an investigation -- which is in progress -- on the attitudes of the young elements of the population (4). We shall again find

4. Below 30-35 years of age.

a similar grouping: dominance of attitudes in favor of polygamy among the farmers, laborers, workers, master workmen, merchants; a dominance still, but much less clear, among the subordinate functionaries and employees; a dominance on the contrary in favor of monogamy among the superior functionaries and employees (although it is not yet actualized for the whole category) and among the members of the teaching and intellectual professions, etc. (where it has already clearly become fact) (5). A strong correlation appears between these data and

5. Less, however, than the total figures would let be foreseen. The Christians, who are only 11% of the whole of our population, are 20% of the superior functionaries and

[162]